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LETTER DATED 9 DECEMBER 1992 FROM THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE
OF CROATIA TO THE UNITED NATIONS ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT
OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL

I have the honour to submit, enclosed herewith, a letter dated
9 December 1992, by the President of the Republic of Croatia
Mr. Franjo Tudjman, addressed to you.

I would be grateful if you would provide for the distribution of this
letter and its annex as a document of the Security Council.

(Signed) Ambassador Mario NOBILO
Permanent Representative

Annex

Letter dated 9 December from the President of the Republic of
Croatia addressed to the President of the Security Council

1. The situation in the Republic of Croatia compels me to send you this letter in which I would like to draw your attention to a number of pressing problems which are a major burden not only to Croatia but also to the international community which has undertaken to take an active part in establishing and sustaining peace in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. I must start by regretfully stating the fact that the joint efforts of the United Nations and the European Community have not yet produced the anticipated results. On the contrary, after the initial positive steps subsequent progress has been frustrated by extreme Serbian elements in the United Nations Protected Areas (UNPAs) encouraged and given decisive political and material support by Serbian (Yugoslav) authorities in Belgrade.
2. Contrary to all our expectations and hopes, the aggression against Croatia continues even after the international recognition of her independence and in spite of the engagement of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), entrusted with ensuring the cessation of armed conflict, supervising the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Army, disarming Serbian paramilitary irregular groups in the UNPAs, and facilitating the return of displaced persons and refugees in order to ensure the gradual re-establishment of the legal system and authorities of the Republic of Croatia in the UNPAs and the so-called "pink zones". The conduct of extreme Serbian elements, roused and given continuous political and material support by the authorities in Belgrade and the Yugoslav Army, has almost completely thwarted the implementation of the Vance Plan. The Yugoslav Army continues to help the rebels with personnel and military equipment and material, including combat helicopters. Brutal terrorism still reigns in three UNPA sectors (East, North and South), and murders, the burning and destruction of homes, demolition of churches and the killing of cattle and other domestic animals are continuing on a daily basis. The victims of armed robbery are principally helpless elderly people remaining in these areas. Thus, more than 600 Croatian citizens have been killed in these areas since the arrival of UNPROFOR. Even some members of the so-called "local police" are shocked by the savagery of the Serbian "special militias" whose victims also include the "moderate" Serbs in these areas. Even in Sector West there have recently been attempts to offset the modest results achieved so far, thus Serbian extremists from Knin and Bosnia and Herzegovina visit the area in question and publicly state that they will establish there the rule of cruel anarchy equal to that in other UNPA sectors.
3. It is quite clear that the responsibility for the non-implementation of the peace plan lies beyond any doubt with the "Knin authorities" which have abused the trust shown to "local authorities" in the implementation of a part of the said plan, and which have, on the contrary, created or maintained conditions permitting anarchy and disorder. In doing so they have

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perfidiously taken advantage of UNPROFOR and of the cessation of armed conflict in the area in order to realize their claims to "sovereignty and statehood" by refusing to withdraw and disarm their irregular formations in accordance with Security Council resolution 762 (1992) and by attempting to reinforce usurpation.

4. All this has been confirmed by the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to the Security Council of 24 November 1992 (S/24848). The disregard of human rights and daily crimes are borne out by the report of the Special Rapporteur and other United Nations representatives on the basis of which the Third Committee of the General Assembly passed the resolution of 3 December 1992 (A/C.4/4/L.9/Rev.1). This has given rise to growing concerns of the international community and global public opinion, as witnessed, among others by the joint statement of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Balkan Countries issued late last month at the Istanbul Conference, and by the resolution of the Sixth Extraordinary session of the Organization of the Islamic Conference early this month.

5. In consideration of the fact that the Vance Plan has been implemented only with regard to its initial part, i.e. that Yugoslav Army forces have withdrawn from the territory of the Republic of Croatia, whereas all the other parts still await implementation, I consider it my duty, Mr. President, to express my conviction, shared daily by a growing number of global factors, that the solution of the existing crisis requires more energetic steps to be taken by the international community, and primarily by the Security Council, than has so far been the case.

6. Therefore, allow me to propose to the Security Council to take the only avenue which can put a stop to the insane aggression focused on the conquest of ethnically "cleansed" territories of other States. I have in mind efficient steps resembling those taken in the case of aggression against Kuwait and with regard to the present-day situation in Somalia. I would therefore propose that the United Nations, in order to end the war and create the prerequisite conditions for permanent peace in the area, should take the following steps:

(a) Authorize UNPROFOR to implement its task within the scope of the Vance Plan, if necessary by use of force as well;

(b) Have UNPROFOR, in accordance with Security Council resolution 769 (1992), urgently enforce a strict regimen of control along the international borders of the Republic of Croatia with Serbia and Bosnia and Herzegovina in order to prevent the uncontrolled traffic of goods and people, and in particular the crossing of armed formations or the delivery of weapons and military equipment;

(c) Have UNPROFOR disarm all Serbian paramilitary formations in the UNPAs and the so-called "pink zones" by 31 December 1992;

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(d) Permit the return of displaced persons to the so-called "pink zones" by 31 December 1992, and to the UNPAs until the expiry of the UNPROFOR mandate in spring 1993;

(e) Permit the opening of expressway and rail routes along the Zagreb-Stavonski Brod-Lipovac section, which is an integral part of the route leading from Europe to the south-east of the continent (Belgrade-Skopje-Athens-Istanbul), thus removing the existing blockade of overall economic life in the area, by 31 December 1992;

(f) Permit Croatian authorities, by 31 December 1992, to put up a provisional pontoon bridge across the Masleničko Ždrilo strait, and to start building the new bridge so as to allow for its completion before the opening of the 1994 tourist season;

(g) Permit Croatian authorities, by 31 December 1992, to use the international airports of Zemunik (near Zadar) and Klisa (near Osijek);

(h) Permit Croatian authorities, as soon as possible and with the assistance of UNPROFOR, to effect mine clearance at the Peruća Dam, which would allow for the normal operation of the hydropower plant and remove the fears and insecurity of the population downstream of the dam with respect to possible disaster;

(i) Make possible the repair of power transmission lines in UNPA Sectors North and South, and thereby permit the establishment of the integral power transmission system by the respective public utility agency (Hrvatska Elektroprivreda), this being of particular importance for power supply throughout Croatia, and particularly in southern Dalmatia, and UNPA Sectors North and South;

(j) Permit the opening of the rail and road route Split-Knin-Karlovac-Zagreb and further to Europe, by February 1993;

(k) Enable elections to be held in the UNPAs, under the supervision of the United Nations and European Community monitors, for the Chamber of Županije (Counties) of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia and for local self-government bodies in municipalities and districts, which is also requested by the Serbian National Party and the majority of the Serbian population in the UNPAs who oppose the extremist policy of the self-styled "leaders" who have overthrown the lawfully elected representatives;

(l) Prevent, as urgently as possible and in order to normalize life in the UNPAs, the continuation of Serbian extremist opposition to the implementation of the Vance Plan, which enjoys the political and material support of Serbian authorities from Belgrade (and from Bosnia and Herzegovina); this is the prerequisite condition to establish the functioning of administrative, welfare and health services (PTT, banks, etc.) of the Republic of Croatia in these areas, the supply of basic necessities, the arrival of physicians and medical teams, and clergymen of all faiths, in order

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to help the population suffering from the terrorism of Serbian extremists and paramilitary formations.

7. For its part the Republic of Croatia undertakes to provide unreserved support and assistance in the implementation of the Vance Plan and the aforementioned requests. The Republic of Croatia will unqualifiedly protect human rights and the rights of ethnic communities in the UNPAs pursuant to her Constitution, the Constitutional Law on Human Rights and Rights of Ethnic Communities, and all other laws within the scope of its legislation, including the Abolition Law.

8. The Republic of Croatia supports the efforts of the United Nations to establish an ad hoc international tribunal to try war crimes and investigate instances of criminal violations of international humanitarian law through the United Nations War Crimes Commission and on the basis of Security Council resolutions 771 (1992) and 780 (1992).

9. Finally, let me assure you, Mr. President, that all the efforts of the Croatian authorities are focused on providing the prerequisite conditions for ending the crisis and bringing about the cessation of bloodshed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and for the establishment of permanent peace in this part of Europe.

Dr. Franjo Tudjman
President of the Republic
of Croatia
